THE Nation

December 23, 1950

THE CRISIS DEEPENS

Recoil from War - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Dream's End - - - *Willard Shelton*

Not by Arms Alone - *An Editorial*

*

Shock Treatment in Manila

BY DAVID T. STERNBERG

*

What Labor Unions Forget

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

SUSPENSION OF MARSHALL PLAN AID TO Britain by friendly agreement eighteen months before the date originally fixed for its termination has rightly given satisfaction on both sides of the Atlantic. Americans can feel that their money has been well invested. It has been used to strengthen the foundations of Britain's economy and has helped to bring about almost sensational increases in British production, productivity, and exports. Britons, for their part, are pleased to be standing on their own feet again. Grateful as they are, not only for aid received, but for the fact that, by and large, it has been without "strings," they realize that acceptance did to some extent limit their freedom of action, and from the beginning they looked forward to relinquishing it at the earliest possible moment. As the New York *Times* has remarked, "it was no accident that Britain is today in a position to forgo further Marshall aid." Hard work, self-discipline, and, let us add, skilled economic planning have all contributed to this end. But at the same time it is necessary to recognize that closure of the dollar gap, which made suspension feasible, is partly due to luck—bad luck. It is the darkening of international skies and the subsequent rearmament boom which has turned the sterling area's dollar deficit into a dollar surplus by creating a tremendous demand for its raw materials. Even in economic terms this development is far from an unmixed blessing for Britain, which lives by importing raw materials and processing them for resale abroad. In the past year British import prices have risen 25 per cent, export prices but 7 per cent. Consequently, in order to pay for the same minimum quantity of imports, export volume must be expanded by nearly 20 per cent. Taking this factor into account, together with the need for diverting productive facilities from civilian supply to armament, it is easy to understand why Britain's ability to dispense with Marshall aid does not imply the end of austerity.

*

IF THESE WERE NORMAL TIMES, WE COULD work up as much indignation as anyone at the President's gross behavior toward the music critic who wrote unflatteringly of Margaret Truman's singing. If the President were not weighed down with decisions that mean life or death for millions, we might even share the views of Westbrook Pegler and the Russian press that his vituperative note was a revelation of "nasty malice" and deficient moral sense. If this were not the same Pegler who hoped the attempted assassination of the President would "be a lesson" to him and remarked that he was neither shocked nor horrified, we might have felt that Mr. Truman was undignified, though not inaccurate, in referring to the Hearst columnist as a "guttersnipe." We find some of the President's highly publicized correspondence—the letter about the Marines, the reply to Representative Hebert, and the note to the music critic—profoundly disturbing, not because of the injudiciousness, the folly, and the arrogance they seem to indicate, but because they show all too clearly the crushing burden under which he is forced to carry on. If these nonsensical outbursts serve as an escape valve, they are worth the price they cost the nation in embarrassment. Better the abuse of an innocent—and, in this case, gallant and understanding—music critic than an explosion in the realm of high policy that could push the world closer to the awful brink of war.

*

OVERCOME BY A KIND OF GROUP PARANOIA, a social disorder not uncommon in these days, a "citizens' committee" in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, has succeeded in chalking up several points for the cause of book burning and racial segregation. Last February a band of self-appointed censors, drawn from local chapters of the American Legion, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Daughters of the American Revolution, and a Republican women's club known as "Pro-America," attacked Miss Ruth Brown, city librarian for thirty-one years. Miss Brown's outlook, it seems, had been tainted by her long association with groups interested in promoting the civil and economic welfare of Bartlesville's Negroes. The city library, furthermore, openly displayed *The Nation* and the *New Republic*, obviously subversive publications which carry advertising for books published by firms that have been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Tenney committee in California. Moreover, Carey McWilliams of *The Nation* had also been cited by the Tenney committee, and *The Nation* had been banned in New York City schools. The "citizens' committee" brought their complaints to the Bartlesville City Commissioners. They, in turn, referred the matter to the Library Board, a body appointed by the Commissioners but autonomous according to state statute.

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 665
The Constitution Wins 666
Not by Arms Alone 667
De Gaulle Stirs Again 668

ARTICLES

Dream's End *by Willard Shelton* 669
Recoil from War *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 670
Shock Treatment for the Philippines *by David T. Sternberg* 671
What Labor Unions Forget *by Richard L. Neuberger* 674
These "Feeble" French. II. Living from Day to Day *by Alexander Werth* 676
Everybody's Business: The Colombo Plan, II *by Keith Hutchison* 678

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Melville: 1950 *by Morton Dauwen Zabel* 679
Addendum on Shaw *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 680
A Dimension Is Missing *by Oscar Handlin* 680
Three Great Painters *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 681
Books in Brief 682
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 682
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 683

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 684

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 392 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 684

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AFTER A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF THE charges, the Library Board reported to the Commissioners that it opposed the removal of any magazines, with the exception of *Soviet Russia Today*, from the library's periodical list. The stalwart "citizens' committee," however, continued its campaign, and eventually the Commissioners took matters in their own hands. Last June, dispensing with the formalities of the state code, they assumed direct control of the library, supposedly under authority of the city's charter. The old Library Board was fired, a new board was selected predominantly from the "citizens' committee", and the librarian was dismissed for "insubordination." When the backers of Miss Brown and the Library Board contested the legality of these actions, the court ruled in favor of the Commissioners. The decision will be appealed, but this may cause a delay of two years. Meanwhile, *The Nation* and the *New Republic* will remain banned, the library will be staffed by non-professional help because qualified persons are unwilling to risk similar defamation, and Miss Brown will be out of a job. Understandably enough, the "citizens' committee" has made frantic efforts to suppress detailed reporting of the dispute in the local press. A fair coverage of the facts would expose not Miss Brown or the Library Board but the "citizens' committee" as the enemy of democracy in Bartlesville.

The Constitution Wins

PERHAPS the most remarkable aspect of the Supreme Court's opinion in the case of Mrs. Patricia Blau is that so thoroughly simple and inescapable a decision should potentially have such far-reaching implications. In normal times it would have been taken for granted, if indeed the case had reached the Supreme Court at all, and the repercussions would have been insignificant. A Denver grand jury two years ago asked Mrs. Blau several questions concerning the Communist Party and her alleged employment by it. The Smith act, under which eleven leaders of the Communist Party were subsequently convicted, makes it a crime knowingly "to become a member of a group" teaching the "desirability of overthrowing the government by force." Mrs. Blau accordingly refused to answer the questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination, whereupon the District Court sentenced her to a year's imprisonment for contempt. The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution says plainly that "no person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Noting that the Smith act made future prosecution of Mrs. Blau far more than what the government had called "a mere imaginary possibility," the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the contempt conviction.

As Justice Black pointed out, the opinion follows precedent going back all the way to the trial of Aaron

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Burr, and there would be nothing noteworthy about it if it did not raise questions concerning other legislation now on the statute books. For example, if a person may not be compelled to divulge membership in the Communist Party on the witness stand, before a grand jury, or before a legislative committee, can he be forced to register as a member under the McCarran act? It is true that the law in question provides against use of such registration as evidence in a criminal proceeding, but this would seem to be a very inadequate protection inasmuch as the mere presence of a name on the rolls could be used by the government as the starting point in building up a case against an individual whom it might otherwise have ignored. It would have the entire roll of the organization, moreover, on which to draw for potential state's witnesses. Black's language appears to us to rule out the validity of this technical dodge. "Whether such admissions by themselves would support a conviction under a criminal statute is immaterial," he wrote in the Blau case. "Answers to the questions asked by the grand jury would have furnished a link in the chain of evidence needed in a prosecution of petitioner for violation of . . . Smith act."

The McCarran law itself carries such punitive measures for Communists, including internment in certain emergencies, that one is led to wonder whether the required registration does not constitute self-incrimination quite apart from the Smith act, the validity of which is to be passed upon by the court in the case of the eleven Communist leaders. Here again a technicality of the law may prevent the applicability of the Blau ruling, since under the McCarran act such internment would be regarded as a civil action by the state and not the imposition of a criminal penalty. To those who lose their freedom, however the distinction is likely to seem strained, and it is not implausible that the high court will find that in this connection registration is a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution.

The Blau decision, further, makes the device of the loyalty oath more fatuous than ever. If a man is registered under the McCarran act as a member of a subversive group, presumably he won't even be given a chance to take the oath. If he is not so registered but should be, it will be extremely difficult to prove his oath false when he may not be compelled to incriminate himself and when officials of suspect groups cannot be compelled to produce membership records in court lest in so doing they in turn incriminate themselves.

All of which indicates that these fevered efforts to suppress a movement by fiat can succeed only if we rip apart the fine web of constitutional law which is our ultimate guaranty of freedom. Once more it is clear that our only sure protection, in law, against subversion lies in the use of statutes of patent constitutionality—laws that prohibit overt acts of treason, sabotage, violence, and the like, leaving ideas to be combated only by other ideas, propaganda only by counter-propaganda. It is extremely good to know that even in these irrational days the Supreme Court can adhere, unanimously, to the basic law of the land. Let the lower courts take note and take courage.

Not By Arms Alone

ONLY those of very tender years will be able to enjoy this Christmas fully: for the rest of us, listening to the bells with one ear cocked to catch the distant rumble of the guns, it will be hard to sing hymns of peace and good-will without consciousness of their ironic overtones. Nor can we wish our friends a happy New Year with any confidence when we must recognize the possibility that it may see the world plunged into a war which would wipe out civilization, if not mankind. At best 1951 promises to be a period of acute mental and physical tension. To millions of young men, here and abroad, it will bring conscription and the interruption of studies and careers. To all of us it offers the prospects of adjustment to a semi-war economy, a constant struggle against inflation, a possible brown-out of civil liberties.

The somber outlook for the New Year was made plain by the President in his radio address of December 15 and in the emergency proclamation of the following day. Mr. Truman told us that in order to uphold and if necessary to defend the principles of the United Nations, we must speed the building up and reequipment of our armed services and those of our allies. To achieve this end we must mobilize our industrial strength and expand production to the utmost: we must work harder, pay much heavier taxes, curtail non-essential expenditure, public and private.

In view of the rapid deterioration of the international situation, it would be hard to deny that we do face an emergency calling for measures of this nature. But it is important to remember that preparedness is no sure preventive of war. Indeed, there is danger that we may rely too much for our security on our ability, when pushed, to produce massive quantities of military equipment excelling in devilish ingenuity and efficiency that of our enemies. The struggle in which we are engaged—the struggle to deliver mankind from the threat of Communist domination without resort to methods that would make victory meaningless—calls for non-material as well as material skills. Our present plight is due much less to failures in handling machinery, in the broad sense, than to failures in handling ideas. Confused by our own propaganda as much as by that of our opponents, we have, as many contributors to last week's Eighty-fifth Anniversary issue of this magazine pointed out, weakened our cause by inability to understand and cope with the revolutionary temper of the times.

In his radio address the President once again spoke of

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this country's honest desire for peace. "We do not," he said, "believe that war is inevitable. There is no conflict between the legitimate interests of the free world and those of the Soviet Union that cannot be settled by peaceful means." But "we cannot yield to aggression," and "we will not engage in appeasement."

Few Americans will quarrel with any part of this statement, for although we react strongly to threats we are not a warlike people. But clearly if we are to settle our differences with Soviet Russia and Communist China peacefully, we must learn to distinguish between the processes of give and take which are essential to any negotiation and appeasement in the Munich sense, which involved buying an illusory security with someone else's freedom.

At Lake Success efforts to arrange a "cease-fire" in Korea appear to have broken down because we insisted that it must be unconditional, while the representatives of Peking insisted on discussing conditions and, in particular, the question of "equality"—recognition of the Chinese People's Republic as a sovereign state and its admission to the United Nations. Since we refused recognition to Mao's government at a time when we had no real quarrel with it, a reversal of this position is obviously difficult after our forces have been attacked by Mao's army and after we have experienced the imitative brutality of General Wu's diplomacy. Yet how can we hope to negotiate with a strong government holding powerful cards if we refuse to concede its right to exist? And what alternative to negotiation do we have save a war, declared or undeclared, against Communist China, a war which could prove as fatally unprofitable as Napoleon's invasion of Russia?

Most Americans, apart from the clients of the China lobby, agree that it is far more important to preserve Western Europe from inclusion in the Soviet sphere than to recapture China. As the *Wall Street Journal* has pointed out in the course of an argument for cutting losses in the Far East, China can contribute man-power to Russia but owing to its lack of economic development will prove a drain on its industrial resources. Western Europe, on the other hand, has an industrial capacity which, added to that of the Soviet bloc, would enable Russia to approach the industrial potential of the United States.

Our involvements in the Far East and the reverses we have suffered there have already raised doubts in Europe about the value of our promised support as a deterrent to Russian aggression. And now these doubts have been multiplied by the unprecedented Republican call for the removal of Secretary of State Acheson at the very moment that he was leaving for Brussels to attend the conference of Foreign Ministers of the Atlantic Pact nations. Mr. Acheson, whatever his faults—and in our opinion they are not those for which he is being censured—has always been a "westerner" rather than an "easterner," and his repudiation by the Republicans appears to Europeans as a possible prelude to a move to cut European commitments. Thus at a time when our transatlantic partners need reassurance about our firmness of purpose, their faith in American leadership has been undermined by a partisan maneuver. Such blundering irresponsibility, which cannot be compensated by multi-billion defense appropriations, makes our emergency look very real and very terrible.

De Gaulle Stirs Again

Paris, December 15

WHILE De Gaulle matters little in "normal" times he seems to have a genius for putting himself forward in a time of grave danger. It would be foolish, therefore, to dismiss his speech at Lille on December 10 as so much hot air. The main points he made were, first, that France was quite capable, without ruining itself, of forming twenty permanent divisions, plus twenty to be mobilized in an emergency, and of building up an air force of 5,000 planes. This could be easily achieved by a government "worthy of the people's confidence. Second, the cornerstone of a strong Western Europe was a Franco-German agreement; Western Europe, in his view, includes England, as No. 3, Italy, and Spain. This Western Europe would need America as much as America would need it. Third, the Atlantic Pact must become a practical reality; he criticized the strategic conception of reserving all-out defense for the British Isles. How the "above-party" government which would put France "in the center of world events" was to be formed he did not say, but armed insurrection is scarcely part of his purpose. Anyway, he lacks the means for that. He spoke with his usual disdain of the parliamentary parties and the present government and said that "the plan and the framework" would have to be changed, after which a sort of plebiscite should be held in France to indorse the establishment of the new government. *Figaro* complains of the General's failure to seek the support of any of France's present parliamentary leaders, but it is not too difficult perhaps to visualize a catastrophic situation—or even a panic—in which De Gaulle could rally around him many politicians now belonging to the center or even to the non-Communist left. Whether he waits for the next election, which may come as early as March, 1951, before he acts or treats the election as irrelevant, he will need watching ,especially if more trouble develops over China or, more important still, over German rearmament—that is, if the danger of war in Europe becomes more tangible than it is today. A. W.

APOLOGY: The cartoon by Curry on page 593 of our Eighty-fifth Anniversary issue should have been credited to *Franc-Tireur* of Paris.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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Dream's End

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, December 18

AS PRESIDENT TRUMAN moved toward his "national emergency" proclamation, his problem was to regain the initiative in both domestic and foreign policy that had slipped from his hands when the Chinese Communists struck in overwhelming force in Korea. Often accused of rashness and shooting from the hip in declarations of program, he was extremely deliberate on this occasion. All week long he conferred with his military and economic advisers, with the Cabinet, with Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress. All week long stories leaked out that he was "considering" an emergency proclamation, but even as late as Wednesday afternoon it was believed that he "hadn't made up his mind" and that in any case the intended effect of such a proclamation would be "chiefly psychological." When his speech to the people came Friday night and the national-emergency proclamation was issued next day, the program he presented was something short of full mobilization.

While he did not set up a garrison state, the foundations for a future garrison state, armed to the teeth and prepared to remain so for many years, were discernible in the blunt declaration that "Communist imperialism" is actively seeking "world conquest."

The appointment of Charles E. Wilson of the General Electric Company as director of the new Office of Defense Mobilization is a step toward full mobilization. The creation of this office meant that the President had abandoned the idea of a "gray mobilization" with powers of allocation and control split among old-line government agencies and with "coordination" assigned to W. Stuart Symington of the National Security Resources Board. An effort was made to save certain powers for Symington, but Wilson demanded—and got—full authority to "direct, control, and coordinate on behalf of the President . . . all mobilization activities." Symington is out as war boss and Wilson is in. Wilson is a production man; our mobilization is moving from a planning to a production stage.

This shift, in so far as it affected the two men, was a shock to people in the N. S. R. B. A week ago informed subordinates denied reports that a national-emergency proclamation was "on the President's desk," awaiting his signature; at least, they said, "nothing like that has come out of our shop." They were taken aback when they heard the President's speech and read the executive order creating O. D. M. and delegating to it all mobilization activities, "including but not limited to" production, procurement, man-power, stabilization, and transport.

The change can be correctly judged only in the light of Mr. Truman's known distaste for special executive agencies. As chairman of the Senate Defense Investigating Committee during World War II, he learned to distrust the bewildering piling up of agencies by President Roosevelt. Now he has confessed, in effect, that the old-line government departments—Commerce, Interior, Agriculture, and others—are incapable of handling the kind of mobilization we need, even with so able an administrator as Symington serving as coordinator. Wilson has a special agency, and more power to direct a forced-draft mobilization than any individual possessed in World War II.

It is not yet clear whether the Administration is prepared to invoke the stringent controls necessary to save the economy from the inflationary pressures inevitably created by large-scale rearmament. The rollback of automobile prices to the December 1 level, the expected establishment of price ceilings on such basic materials as steel and aluminum, and the announcement that "fair standards" will be suggested for prices and wages in other fields add up to a program that is far short of mandatory controls imposed to protect the people's pocketbooks.

A strange euphoria seems to have possessed Mr. Truman's Fair Deal advisers during the more than five months that have passed since the North Koreans struck. Accused of being red-hot advocates of controls for the sake of controls, they tried to argue Congress out of including direct price controls in the Defense Production Act. The Council of Economic Advisers fought the Baruch plan for freezing the economy. As prices skyrocketed, everyone in the Administration—in the White House, the Council of Economic Advisers, the N. S. R. B., the Economic Stabilization Agency—argued that "sixty to ninety days" would be needed to set up an effective price-control organization, and that indirect controls, such as higher taxes and restrictions on credit, were preferable to direct controls anyway. Indirect controls, they insisted, attacked inflation at its source by attacking purchasing power, whereas price ceilings would also promote black markets and merely "postpone" the inflation.

All this may be true, but it is fairly obvious now that Congress is not going to pass tax bills to pay the full costs of a rearmament program that may see fifty billion dollars spent this year instead of the fifteen billion originally budgeted. My own belief, which may be unjustified, is that the Administration instinctively shrank from direct price controls for political reasons. Democrats remembered the abuse heaped on Leon Henderson and Chester Bowles when they ran the Office of Price Administration; they remembered the "meat shortage" election of 1946. The O. P. A., however, did a fairly good job of stabilizing the economy, and if it had been con-

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tinued until after shortages of goods were overcome in the post-war years, might have done a superlative job. The experience of World War II has taught us something about the loopholes that must be plugged. Now we still must wait the "sixty to ninety days" required to build an organization; and able economists, statisticians, and lawyers will still hesitate to take low-paid government jobs which expose them to irresponsible Congressional sniping—at least until they are sure they have a worthwhile program to administer.

A WORD must be said about the discreditable performance of the Republican Senate and House delegations in passing resolutions demanding the ouster of Secretary Acheson and a substantial, though not exactly defined, blood-letting throughout the State Department. Although Acheson, on the eve of his departure for the Brussels conference, was unfairly singled out by the China lobby and by McCarthyites, the Secretary and Mr. Truman himself are not blameless for allowing such a situation to arise.

The President and Acheson have suffered from the delusion that they could ignore their enemies instead of fighting back against the attacks of McCarthy, Knowland, and the other pro-Chiang critics. They could have taken the truth to the people: told them that even today Chiang's Nationalist troops on Formosa are something less than a dependable army; that Mao Tse-tung's army won on the mainland because it fought better and with more conviction than Chiang's disorganized rabble; that Mao's government is in effective control of China; that Formosa is not strategically vital to us because it can undoubtedly be dominated by air power from the mainland if the Russians and the Chinese choose; that it is more important to base our policy on hard facts than to appease Knowland and McCarthy.

By remaining silent the Administration left Senator Knowland free to sponsor a new Formosa-aid proposal in Congress. The proposal was barely beaten, but as Knowland said afterward, "this is only the Eighty-first Congress; wait for the Eighty-second." In the meantime the Administration itself has been driven, by the intervention in Korea of what General Wu persists in calling "volunteers" (complete with jet planes), to stiffen its doctrine of non-recognition and by economic embargo to assert again that we shall not permanently acquiesce in the "military advantage" the "Communist imperialists" have admittedly gained.

Sometimes it is necessary in government to sacrifice a man to save a policy. But it passes understanding why the Administration has allowed the mounting attacks on Acheson, architect of the Marshall Plan and the first responsible State Department official to define Russia's foreign policy as "aggressive and expanding." It is not even clear what policy Mr. Truman intends to save if he lets the ax fall on Acheson.

The Recoil from War

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Flushing Meadow, December 16

WHEN the fifth Assembly of the United Nations recessed yesterday, it had fulfilled, essentially, my expectations. The session was the most dramatic in the U. N.'s brief history, with the atom bomb threatening to blow the whole organization to pieces at any moment. China was the chief issue. My warning that the "American majority" was likely to be split by the refusal of delegations which normally voted with the United States to follow a course leading inevitably to a third world war was justified on several occasions—most strikingly after the intervention of Chinese troops in Korea destroyed all hope of a victory for the United Nations forces. The demands of irate Senators and commentators that the United States quit the U. N. because it was not tough enough with Communist China and the mounting American criticism of the dissensions, cowardice, cynicism, frivolity, and so on of European nations did nothing to counteract the effect of the Korean defeat on the Atlantic coalition. On the contrary. The facts are brutally simple. Either the United States feels strong enough to deal with the new situation by itself or it needs allies. If it needs allies it must consider their views, their psychology, their policies. And these allies reject the thought of war as long as there remains the slightest possibility of a peaceful settlement.

To limit the American "adventure in Asia" has for some weeks been the chief objective of London, Paris, The Hague, and other capitals. This is not merely Lake Success gossip. Foreign Secretary Bevin himself told the House of Commons during the debate on Korea that the United States had ignored Britain's advice, based on the recommendations of its chiefs of staff, to halt the U. N. drive into North Korea at a line one hundred miles north of the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The fear that if American power became deeply involved in a prestige war in Asia—"to teach Communist China a lesson"—the defense of Europe would no longer have first priority was behind the reluctance of the West to follow the lead of the American delegation. Moreover, it has been said not once but twenty times, and not by journalists or scare-mongers but by the highest military authorities, that if the Russians march into Western Europe they will be in Lisbon in a few weeks. Full war with China might decide the Red Army to march. Certainly, therefore, it cannot be entered into lightly.

In addition to the military argument Europe is aware of a number of political reasons why it should not blindly accept the strategy of desperation. Russia has various alternatives to the simple use of force. Instead of striking with its armies, it can offer diplomatic inducements. To resolve the German issue, a return to Potsdam is pos-

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sible. The treaty of friendship between France and the Soviet Union might be renewed. Or trade agreements might be proposed which would be advantageous to both sides. Or negotiations could be undertaken to insure the neutrality of the countries of Western Europe: they would not be invaded if they did not allow the United States to use them as military bases. Russia still holds many cards that people here forget about. All these possibilities underlay the hesitations and contradictions visible at Flushing Meadow this week.

One other factor in this very complicated situation should be mentioned. While progressive forces everywhere are in retreat, partly because of the pressures exercised by the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the Atlantic Pact, partly because of their own mistakes, these forces still exist. They are represented in a number of governments; their views have weight. And they know only too well that if war comes, it will put reaction in the saddle; the left will be wiped out. I need only point to the impetus given to De Gaulle's movement in France in the last few days. Naturally liberals and Socialists, not caring to commit suicide, want to explore every avenue that might lead to a negotiated peace.

It was necessary of course to probe beneath the surface to discover the anxieties that determined the mood of the fifth Assembly in its last phase. During the discussion of the cease-fire resolution delegates who privately disagreed with the policy of the United States expressed their views only in whispers to one another, voting, when the time came, with the Americans. Revolt would certainly have broken out, however, if the United States had tried to force any such action as proclaiming Communist China an aggressor and demanding that the United Nations declare war on it.

The cease-fire resolution adopted was declared by Assembly President Nasrollah Entezam of Iran and his two associates, Sir Benegal N. Rau of India and Lester Pearson of Canada, to be "without negotiable content." It had been clear from the beginning that any attempt to sneak in the central issue of recognition of Mao's government would be doomed to failure. But I am sure the importance of this question is admitted by the distinguished members of the committee of three which is endeavoring to find a way to end the fighting in Korea. The greatest service they can render to the United Nations and the cause of peace will be to heed the secret desires of the Assembly and not confine themselves to the limited task set by the resolution. Even General Wu, in the forceful statement read to the press on his departure, did not entirely close the door to a settlement. But he made it very clear that peace in Asia—as I said two weeks ago—depends on the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

General Wu Hsiu-chuan

Shock Treatment for the Philippines

DAVID T. STERNBERG

Manila, December 13

PROPOSED American aid will not permit the Philippines government to relax and stop worrying about its precarious finances. Not much of the $250,000,000 to be provided in the next five years is apparently to go toward unpaid bills. Most of the money will be earmarked for new plant and equipment and for technical assistance to bring into productivity the rich resources of the islands and put the nation on the road to self-sufficiency. Such is the tenor of the recommendations made by the United States Economic Survey Mission to the Philippines in what is popularly known as the Bell Report. Modern technology is to be brought to bear on an agrarian economy bogged down in antiquated methods and capital timidity.

According to the report, "the basic economic problem in the Philippines is inefficient production and very low incomes. . . . The inequalities in income, . . . always large, have become even greater during the past few years." After examining in detail various facets of the country's economy, the report concludes that "a permanent solution to these problems will be found only through a determined effort on the part of the people and the government of the Philippines, with the aid and encouragement of the United States, to increase production and improve productive efficiency, to raise the level of wages and farm income, and to open new opportuni-

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ties for work and for acquiring land." Through its recommendations the mission has outlined a program of social, political, and economic reforms which, if implemented during the five-year period envisaged, will strikingly accelerate normal democratic processes.

Contrary to general expectation, the report does not suggest retrenchment in government expenditures but rather a general expansion of public services administered by a revitalized, better-paid civil service. To cover the cost of such expansion, reverse the deficit trend, and retard inflation, it urges sharp upward revision of existing tax schedules—especially in top income brackets—heavy luxury taxes, and improved collection methods. Thus, in what might be called an "Operation Bootstraps," domestic wealth plus technical assistance would restore the government's shaky financial structure and permit its participation in a development program for which the United States will be asked to advance $250,000,000 in loans and grants.

In Manila the report has been received with unprecedented enthusiasm by virtually all sections of the public. Its criticism of the government, though candid and unsparing, is sufficiently objective to be accepted by the Administration as friendly in intent. Analyses of the nation's economic background and future potentialities are felt to reflect the painstaking thoroughness of the mission's approach during its two months' stay in the Philippines. Basic remedial objectives are regarded with equal favor by progressive management and organized labor. But topping these in public favor is the clause which assures that the program, if accepted by the Philippines government and approved by the United States Congress, will be more than a pious hope. This clause stipulates that the aid is to be "strictly conditioned on steps being taken by the Philippines government to carry out the recommendations outlined above, including the immediate enactment of tax legislation and other urgent reforms."

To clinch this aspect of the program, E. C. A. Administrator William C. Foster, representing President Truman, E. C. A.'s Far East chief, R. Allen Griffin, and the economist Vincent Checci conferred with President Quirino soon after publication of the report and negotiated a memorandum of agreement. Here again is underscored American determination to exact immediate social reforms as the price of economic aid. The memorandum reads:

> It is realized that the Philippines must have greater production, a more diversified economy, and a higher family income for its industrial and agricultural laborers, all of which will greatly contribute to the enhancement of free institutions. . . . To this end, and considering that time is of the essence, the Council of State shall forthwith formulate a legislative program of the following measures for prompt consideration by the Congress of the Philippines: . . . a minimum-wage law for all agricultural workers as the first step toward labor and rural legislation designed to raise the level of wages, especially in agricultural areas, and to improve the living conditions of agricultural and industrial workers . . . [and] a bold resolution expressing the general policy of Congress to accelerate the carrying out by Congressional enactment of the social-reform and economic-development measures recommended by the Economic Survey Mission to the Philippines.

IN THE perspective of the situation in the Far East this insistence on social reforms is seen as a tactic for combating communism in the area of its maximum penetration, the lowest income strata, and for countering its promises with immediately demonstrable betterment. In the Orient, where extremes of income and low productivity are the standard pattern, the success of the Philippines effort could have far-reaching influence. What are the chances of success?

The first hurdle, of course, will be met in the current special session of the Philippines Congress, which is to pass on President Quirino's commitment and enact the necessary legislation. Strong opposition to the heavy tax program, of varying objectivity, is expected. Persons in the highest income brackets, well represented in the Congress, will protest loudly. They will be supported by some civic-minded groups which hold that the proposed tax legislation, by its very severity, would defeat its own ends. Higher living costs are foreseen for those least able to afford them. The added inducement to smuggling up and down the endless coastline of the archipelago could be expected to increase the already crushing expense of law enforcement. Honest taxpayers in business and industry would be placed at an even greater competitive disadvantage with the unscrupulous tax evader.

A substantial and sober body of public opinion holds therefore that the required increase of government revenue should be obtained through improved collection methods, elimination of waste and inefficiency, and penalization of non-productive and idle wealth. There is reason to believe that the government's American advisers will give careful consideration to their views, since the primary purpose is to develop the country's economy at maximum speed with minimum cost.

How rapidly can the Islands' economy be restored and expanded? What are their capacities for self-help? To what extent are current difficulties the result of basic deficiencies? Answers to these questions must be sought in the nation's experience since liberation.

When 1946 was set as the target date of Philippines independence, a ten-year period—1936 to 1946—was provided for the gradual transformation of the economy, and of its social and political mechanism, into that of a sovereign instead of a subject state. World War II and three years of enemy occupation, however, wrought dam-

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age of inconceivable magnitude. The nation's industrial plant was almost ruined. Consumer inventories were virtually wiped out by enemy looting and complete cessation of imports. An estimated 70 per cent of public and private housing was destroyed. Civic and moral values were reversed by the circumstances of patriotic resistance to the occupying enemy. It was with these physical realities rather than the original theories that the Philippines undertook their sovereign existence.

Filipinos are particularly irritated today by allusions to the "two billion dollars of United States aid poured into the Islands since liberation." They point out that aside from $400,000,000 for war-damage claims and $120,000,000 for reconstruction of public works none of this money was subject to government control; that it was paid out to individuals as compensation for services and as guerrilla and veteran benefits, and that in consequence it was used for replenishment of personal effects and for living expenses rather than for restoration of the shattered economy. Payments to destroyed industries for war damages were initially only 30 per cent of the approved claims and, by virtue of the regulations imposed, a much smaller fraction of the replacement cost. It is conceded that with astute economic controls better use might have been made of these windfalls of foreign exchange, but the imposition of such controls would have presupposed a political maturity and public sobriety scarcely to be expected in the psychological conditions caused by liberation.

IN THE years that followed the establishment of the republic, its political leaders were completely occupied with the game of seizing and consolidating personal power. Neither incumbent Liberals nor minority Nationalists, led by José P. Laurel, defeated Presidential candidate, would risk their political fortunes by sponsoring the kind of Spartan national regimen that would have averted the present economic crisis. Import controls were urged by the Joint Philippine-American Finance Commission of 1947 but were not acted upon until United States Ambassador Myron M. Cowen in 1949 had his economists prepare a survey of Philippines finances and warned the Administration of the rapid deterioration of its financial position. By that time moderate measures had become inadequate, and the subsequent drastic import and exchange controls aroused public apprehension which merely speeded the crisis. Today the Philippines government, having neglected to make the fullest use of revenue potentialities during the lush profit years of 1948-49 and having failed to direct government expenditures into productive channels, finds itself faced with an accumulated deficit of half a billion pesos, diminishing income, and a rising demand and need for social services.

The problem can be solved only if peace and order prevail. Central Luzon has been the cradle of rebellion since Spanish times. Its fertile plains, the "granary of the Philippines," first produced the wealth required to send young Filipinos abroad. Returning with European educations, many of the sons of landowners brought with them seeds of nineteenth-century liberalism which grew into agrarian-reform movements. Unfortunately, most of these movements were better intentioned than implemented; they produced a mass temper ready to take up arms for social justice but economically and politically

Laurel and Quirino

too unschooled to reject charlatan and opportunist leadership. The result has been a long series of abortive, frequently comic-opera, uprisings.

During the war the miniscule Communist Party of the Philippines, using Moscow-taught methods of underground organization, rallied rebellious elements into a resistance army which came to be known as the Hukbalahap—telescoped Tagalog for "People's Army Against Japan"—later shortened to Huks. After liberation these forces refused to lay down their arms and acknowledge the authority of the returned Philippines government. Since the establishment of the republic they have carried on harassing guerrilla actions against government forces and the civilian populace. Today the Huk top leadership is unabashedly Communist and its political line a carbon copy of Kremlin policy—often ludicrously inappropriate to the local scene. It is believed that only a small number of the original Huks remain in the organization, and that around this nucleus the Communist leaders have recruited a strong fighting force of escaped criminals, outlaw bands taking advantage of the protective coloration of a social movement, and various other kinds of trigger-men common to the aftermath of war. While the Huks wield little political influence and have never posed a real military threat to the government, they have grown in strength and spread to other areas. Their activities, which follow the regular pattern of Communist disrup-

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tion and subversion, sap public morale, paralyze important productive areas, and siphon off an estimated 27 per cent of the current national budget for maintenance of security.

THUS on the debit side of the present Philippines ledger we find a snarled government fiscal setup, lopsided and incomplete restoration of the nation's productive plant, leaders preoccupied with the game of politics, shortage of managerial and technical talent, and a costly state of lawlessnes which the Communists are exploiting. The credit side, however, holds considerable promise. Twenty million people occupy a land area which competent authorities claim could readily support a population of fifty million. Little more than 10 per cent of the arable land is under cultivation, and rich forest and mineral resources have scarcely been tapped. Though agricultural methods are for the most part archaic and inefficient, there is a sizable core of peasants with enough mechanical aptitude to use machinery if they received technical and financial aid. Literacy is about 48 per cent, and the English language is widely understood.

Most Filipinos subscribe to constitutional forms and processes. Despite recurrent atrocities, a strong wave of protest met President Quirino's suspension of habeas corpus when police raids uncovered a full-scale revolutionary organization in Manila itself. The opposition has been moderated only by the obvious urgency of anti-Communist measures and the constitutional inability of the President to extend the present legal limit of six hours for detention without formal charge.

America enjoys the friendship and good-will of a great majority of the Filipino people. Any expression of antagonism can usually be traced to personal exhibitionism, national sensitivity to criticism, or an outspokenness which America encouraged during the half-century of its stewardship. A recent bitter attack on the United States, signed "Philippines Commentator" and released on official stationery of the government Office of Information, evoked indignation and censure from every level of public opinion, the press, and both majority and minority political leaders. Before the day was out, feeling ran so high that President Quirino felt impelled to visit the United States Ambassador to express his regrets.

It is generally felt here that the United States has a good opportunity in the Islands to demonstrate its policy toward the underdeveloped areas of Asia, and that a successful experiment along lines now emerging in Washington thinking could greatly strengthen the democratic position in the Orient. There are no illusions, however, about the difficulty of persuading Filipino officials to place national interest above all other considerations and of thus assuring that American aid is intelligently administered.

What Labor Unions Forget

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Ore., November 25

LABOR leaders have suddenly discovered that the votes of their followers cannot be delivered in a bundle. Trade-union members are taking a long, searching look at the political product recommended to them by their officials. On November 7, 1950, in the secrecy of the voting booth, millions of them said, "No thank you!"

Klamath County, Oregon, is a case in point. This pine-mantled upland contains a large number of C. I. O. loggers and A. F. of L. sawmill workers. The shops of the Southern Pacific and Great Northern at Klamath Falls, the county seat, make the population a fairly complete cross-section of labor. The Railroad Brotherhoods are strong. Although Oregon is a Republican state, the county, as a labor citadel, has 12,995 registered Democrats to 9,750 Republicans. Yet in the recent election practically every indorsement of the A. F. of L., C. I. O., and Railroad Brotherhood executive boards was rejected. Since the vote was the heaviest ever recorded in the county in an off-year election, it cannot be claimed that labor stayed home. Labor voted, but not as its leaders had ordered.

Preponderantly working-class communities scattered all over the country were as independent as Klamath County on Election Day, 1950. Trade unionists, it was clearly demonstrated, will not vote for just anybody. And the worst of it, as a veteran A. F. of L. official in Portland said to me, was that "by making questionable indorsements labor dragged down some of the worthy people it supported. Union members saw a few bad apples on the labor slate and decided the whole barrel was no good."

Joe Ferguson in Ohio is cited as a prime example of this mistake. He obviously could not compete with Robert A. Taft in the matter of the intellectual equipment required of a United States Senator. Labor leaders touted him as an acceptable replacement for Taft, but his shortcomings were too apparent. The choice of

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Ferguson was especially unfortunate in a contest of national significance, but it was not surprising. For years, it seems to me, labor has tended to overlook the basic character and ability of the people it has indorsed. It has done this most often in local contests, but labor candidates all along the line have suffered.

OUT here we have some Democratic hack politicians whose main concern is liquor and gambling legislation. At the same time they pay lip-service to a few strictly labor issues and memorialize Congress to repeal the Taft-Hartley law, and so they are recommended to labor's rank and file as deserving of support. The fact that union members are also members of churches, parent-teacher associations, and other civic groups is ignored. Yet these allegiances are so important to them that when they see so-called labor candidates leading campaigns to legalize slot machines or license a pari-mutuel dog track a few blocks from a high school, they become suspicious of all labor indorsements.

A candidate's position on the Taft-Hartley act has become such a touchstone that everything else about him is forgotten—his business integrity, his intellectual consistency, his personal life. It is forgotten, that is, by the executives; the rank and file are not so complaisant. I remember a conversation I had with a young C. I. O. woodworker in an Oregon lumber town, an inveterate angler. "My local," he said, "has indorsed a whole bunch of legislators who have done the dirty work for the salmon canneries in trying to continue fish traps in the Columbia River. I don't care how these men stand on the Taft-Hartley act. They've proved to me that they're for wrecking my fishing for sport, and I'm voting against every one of them." Disaster is sure to follow if Taft-Hartley is allowed to cancel a candidate's attitude on schools, conservation, public health, and other questions which are of interest not only to labor but to the people as a whole.

Senator McCarran has benefited from labor's support for thirty years. Trade unions are an important factor in a sparsely inhabited state like Nevada, where the vote in a few railroad division points can decide a Senatorial contest. McCarran might try to bar the worst-persecuted Catholic and Jewish D. P.'s, he might be Franco's closest ally in Congress, he might help to jettison the reciprocal-trade agreements, but as long as he seemed to oppose the Taft-Hartley law with all his might and main he was acceptable to many leaders of American labor. These men tend to regard labor as a class apart, just as the American Legion has looked upon the nation's war veterans as a group isolated from the general population. In my service in the state senate I have experienced this many times. Labor supports narrow special-interest legislation which ultimately takes money from workingmen's wallets.

Oregon has a milk-control law which authorizes prevention of a price differential between store purchases and home delivery. This assures steady employment to several hundred milk-wagon drivers. It also makes every quart of "grade A" cost at least a cent more. Obviously, each of Oregon's 228,000 trade-union families pays heavily. Yet pressure from a handful of tightly organized teamsters keeps the entire labor movement officially in favor of the milk-control act.

Signboards are defacing Oregon's magnificent scenery, and I introduced a bill giving the State Highway Commission authority to remove some of them. Although both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. had given me a high rating on all major labor issues before the legislature, the Signpainters' Union appeared at a public hearing and denounced me as an "enemy of labor." In vain did I cite the concern of all people, including labor, in safeguarding the Oregon outdoors and call attention to labor's specific interest in the tourist industry. No, I was an "enemy of labor" because I was against billboards on the highways.

In a post-election analysis in the New York *Times* Louis Stark wrote that "labor's 'brain trust' believes it must win over large elements of the middle class." At the legislative hearing on signboards, however, the people who wanted to keep the mountains and forests within the view of motorists were stigmatized as foes of the workingman. The committee chamber was full of men and women from garden clubs, mountaineering groups, and the Audubon and Izaak Walton societies. I should say that large segments of the middle class were lost to labor in our state that day.

To an extent not generally understood, central labor councils around the country are under pressure from subordinate unions to indorse their members for elective office. This would be good policy if the councils could exercise choice. But all union people must be indorsed regardless of their qualifications. Some of the finest men I have known in public life once belonged to lumber workers', truck drivers', and school teachers' unions. For honesty, diligence, and ability to cut through to the heart of an issue they shame their corporation-lawyer colleagues. But other public men who came out of unions have been a disgrace to their organizations. If because of internecine union rivalry the local governing bodies of labor must recommend to the public all aspirants who carry a card showing that their dues are paid up, labor's entire slate is discredited.

Business groups would be ridiculed if they were compelled to boost every candidate who ran a grocery store or movie theater, but labor is often put in this position when union members get the itch for office. And, ironically, union affiliation does not always mean sympathy with the aspirations of labor. One of the most truculent reactionaries on the Portland City Coun-

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cil was put there through union influence. A former union business agent, he can be counted on to favor lifting rent controls or increasing bus fares. This recruit from the ranks of labor is not nearly so liberal or enlightened as the city's woman mayor, who has rarely run for office with union indorsement.

In a recent column Eleanor Roosevelt pointed out that labor's most effective friends are often men and women who have never worked a precinct or worn a union button but have been well-rounded citizens in other fields. From my own limited perspective I would say that the chief lesson labor must learn is that union members have interests which far transcend narrow union problems. They don't want to elect a politician pledged to vote with labor on minimum wages if he dodges the town's need for a decent sewer system. Attention to strictly union issues may have been all right when organized labor in America consisted of a few locomotive engineers and structural iron workers. It is not enough in an era when trade-union families in many communities are practically synonymous with the general public.

These "Feeble" French

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

II. Living from Day to Day

Paris, November

NEARLY everybody agrees that, thanks largely to M. Monnet and his plan, Marshall aid and other American loans and subsidies have been used in France very effectively. Most of the 2,000 billion francs received from America under various labels since the war has been put into industry, and French production figures are far in excess of 1938. The huge new hydroelectric plants have raised the output of electricity more than 50 per cent above the pre-war level; the production of gas and refined petrol is also 50 per cent greater; of coal, 15 per cent; and the general index is up about 30 per cent. In the first seven months of 1950, 28,000 motor vehicles were manufactured as against 23,000 for the whole of 1949 and 18,000 in 1938.

Building is one of the weak spots. Although there is slightly more construction than there was before the war, there should be very much more, on account of the war damage. Paris is hopelessly overcrowded, and to obtain even a couple of furnished rooms a person must submit to the most scandalous demands for "key money" and to other rackets.

Workers and government employees are badly underpaid, but on the whole there is more *insuffisance* in France than downright *misère*. Before the war wealth was rather more evenly distributed in France than in Britain, but not so now. Wages—except, it must be said, in the case of men with large families, who benefit from family allowances—are abnormally low; they range commonly from 10,000 to 15,000 francs a month. There is much justified discontent, but it is not at present an acute problem, and the fear that massive wage increases and a subsequent rise in prices might be followed by unemployment is having a restraining influence on the trade unions. Moreover, the unions are not in a very favorable position. Less than half the French wage-earners are union members, and they belong to several rival federations—the predominantly Communist C. G. T., the Socialist F. O., the Catholic C. G. T. C.—and to some "autonomous" unions. The estimated membership of the C. G. T. is about 3,000,000, of the F. O. 700,000, and of the Christian unions just over 1,000,000. The tendency of employers to play off one against the other does not make things any easier. Many employers are being extremely tough; some of them clearly hope to bring back the good pre-1936 days when they had their workers at their mercy. Cases of post-strike victimization, particularly of C. G. T. ringleaders, have been numerous.

Unemployment, however, is practically non-existent, the present official figure of 120,000 being lower than any recorded before the war. In many industries there is, if anything, a labor shortage. Not that rearmament has as yet had much effect; some signs of conversion to war needs can be observed at Delahaye and in a few other automobile plants, but the major motor firms continue to make cars. Indeed, one of the chief complaints against America is that France would prefer to make more of the equipment for its rearmament program itself and not import so much of it from the United States. M. Moch, the Minister of Defense, has said that French guns, light and heavy tanks, jeeps, and other things that can be made here are of better quality than the American product.

The ranks of the wealthy middle class have been swelled by an army of black-market veterans and by the thousands of *nouveaux riches* whose transactions ac-

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count for the fact that a cauliflower one can buy for two francs on the farm in Brittany is sold for fifty francs by the Paris greengrocer. The difference is obviously not explained solely by taxes and transportation. The people who reap the profit spend their money in bars and restaurants and expensive shops rather than at the tax inspector's office, thus keeping the wheels of business turning. Admirers of free enterprise *à l'américaine* seem very pleased. The inevitable inflation which the budget deficit will cause is not frightening them unduly—France has, after all, *always* had deficits and inflation!

AND never mind about the workingman. When he becomes too troublesome, he can be called a Communist—that makes him pipe down. It is not good to be a red in France now, or even to be suspected of Communist sympathies. The government is still hesitating to take any drastic steps against the party, but that something is in the air is indicated by the arbitrary arrest of hundreds of Spanish Communists, many of whom have been sent to camps in Corsica where they cannot be visited even by their lawyers—one lawyer who ventured to go to Corsica was promptly arrested by the police on orders from the prefect. This measure was clearly intended to intimidate French Communists and also—perhaps chiefly—to serve as a sop to American opinion. There is now a genuine fear among French Communists that their leaders may be arrested, as they were in 1939 and 1940.

It is clear that everything possible will be done to reduce the number of Communist deputies from 180 to next to nothing. Whatever the exact terms of the electoral reform, on which the government parties still have not agreed, its primary objective will be to rid Parliament of the Communists—even if they represent 30 per cent of the population. More or less academic discussions are carried on in the press as to whether communism is an opinion or merely treason. All the same it is admitted that the bulk of labor, a large proportion of the white-collar workers, and some peasants and intellectuals are still Communists, and will vote accordingly. In spite of everything, the Communist Party appeals more than the Socialist to those who like "revolutionary traditions," who are underpaid and disgruntled, or who have been genuinely impressed by the Communist peace campaign. So if the next elections were held on the same basis that existed in 1946—as they won't be—the number of Communist seats would scarcely show a serious decline.

Everyday life in France is marked by considerable political apathy. This is shown, for example, by the rise in circulation of *journaux d'information*, like the *Parisien Libéré, Figaro, Aurore,* and *France-Soir,* and the decline of the *journaux d'opinion*, including the Communist *Humanité*, which now sells barely 220,000 copies, and brightly polemical leftist papers like *Franc-Tireur* and *Combat*. Even in the industrial suburbs you will see workmen in a bus reading *France-Soir* or a sports paper rather than *L'Humanité*. All these people seem to live from day to day and not to bother excessively about the destiny of France. What matters most is that there should be no war, and the Americans, for that reason, are not much more popular than the Russians. At a surburban cinema the other night a savage Korean newsreel, followed by a documentary glorifying the American air force, was greeted with cries of *Assez, assez!* Apparently the French audience was more scared than reassured by the display of American military strength and readiness to "defend peace."

About the French "empire" the general feeling is one of indifference or disillusionment. Everybody would like to hear the last of the war in Indo-China, which is ruinous and inhuman, killing thousands of Frenchmen and doing little to maintain the legend of France's superior colonial methods. What news there is from North Africa is not very reassuring either; the recent visit to Paris of the Sultan of Morocco produced a sheaf of stories in the non-Communist left-wing press about the savage exploitation of Africans and French support for the worst type of feudalism. Large sections of the French people are genuinely sympathetic with the nationalist aspirations of the peoples of Madagascar, North Africa, and other parts of the French Union, and have an uneasy feeling—which was loudly voiced in the recent Assembly debate on Vietnam—that from being apparently the most liberal of colonial powers France, with its massacres in Madagascar and elsewhere, has become perhaps the most reactionary. But the state of the world today is such that anyone deploring brutalities in Africa is either called a Communist or reproached with playing into the hands of the Communists. And so, in the name of anti-communism, the exploitation of Morocco and the concentration camps in Madagascar will be given another lease on life.

The fear of "sounding like Communists" sometimes hopelessly cramps the style of the French Socialists. They have now declared that no government is possible without them. With their emphasis on social reform, hostility to German rearmament, and somewhat utopian internationalism—the British Labor Party is in comparison quite *terre-à-terre*—they may prove a valuable moderating influence on their colleagues to the right. On the other hand, they might become prisoners of the right. M. Pleven seems to be trying to keep his "center-Socialist synthesis" going, and so far he has been fairly successful. He strikes one as a very shrewd politician. Many think he has a big future; whether with or without De Gaulle will depend on circumstances.

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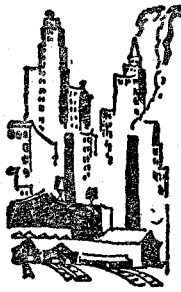

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Colombo Plan, II

TWO weeks ago on this page I gave a brief account of the Colombo Plan, a scheme for the development of the densely populated and poverty-stricken countries of South and Southeast Asia which has been launched by the nations of the British Commonwealth. Its primary objectives are (a) an increase in food production, which in this region, taken as a whole, is at present barely sufficient to provide a low-grade subsistence diet; (b) the enlargement and improvement of basic services—transport, electricity, irrigation—on which the expansion of both agriculture and industry depends.

The six-year programs of the Commonwealth nations participating in the Colombo Plan—other countries in the area are also interested and may become associated with it later—are ambitious but by no means grandiose. For as the report of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee recognizes, they are subject to "two limitations . . . the shortage of trained men and the shortage of capital, both internal and external." The first of these shortages is felt at all levels. In underdeveloped countries like India and Pakistan there are relatively few men with experience of modern machinery and industrial methods who can serve as master-mechanics and foremen on big construction jobs, in new power stations, in railroad workshops, and so forth. And although these countries are producing good scientists and engineers, scarcity of highly trained technical experts is a serious barrier to progress. The Colombo Plan, therefore, stresses the enlargement of higher educational facilities and an increase in scholarships for study abroad.

Assistance to students is one contribution which the more advanced Commonwealth nations—Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—expect to make to the success of the Colombo Plan. In addition they have undertaken to help recruit abroad considerable numbers of experts whose services as executives, consultants, and teachers are needed in the underdeveloped countries. For this purpose a Council for Technical Cooperation has already been organized and guaranteed funds by the Commonwealth governments up to a maximum of $22,400,000 during the next three years. Its functions are to assist in the provision of both trained personnel and training facilities and to maintain close liaison with the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the United States "Point Four" administration which are pursuing similiar objectives.

Full employment in the Western Hemisphere in recent years has uncovered a world-wide shortage of many kinds of technical experts, and with the demand for their services further augmented by rearmament programs it is not going to be easy to satisfy the needs of the underdeveloped countries. Nevertheless, the problem of technical assistance will probably prove less knotty than that of finance. Altogether the six-year programs of the Colombo Plan countries call for an outlay of $5,230,000,000, or less than $2 per annum per head of population. Small as this sum is in relation to Asiatic needs, it is far too great for the nations concerned to find from their own resources. The vast majority of their people are cultivators of the soil whose annual output is seldom more than enough to maintain their own families. Countries in this situation can have very little real surplus to devote to capital investment. They may be able to create one by using the Soviet, or bootstrap, method of depressing living standards of primary producers, but where living standards are already extremely low even the most ruthless squeezing will yield very little. Consequently any reasonable rate of economic progress depends on ability to borrow from the surpluses of more advanced nations.

The Colombo Plan nations will, it is estimated, be able to raise internally a little more than two-fifths of the total investment outlay required to implement their six-year programs, leaving just over $3 billion to be secured externally. However, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon have substantial credit balances in London—a legacy from the war years, when they earned far greater amounts of sterling than they were permitted to spend. By agreement with Britain they expect to be able to draw on these balances, which have already been considerably reduced in the last five years, to the extent of $689,000,000 between 1951 and 1957. Moreover, Britain has undertaken to make itself responsible for the total capital requirements, amounting to $171,000,000, of the three colonial territories included in the plan—Malaya, British North Borneo, and Sarawak.

Thus there will remain the sum of $2,288,000,000 to be secured from other external resources, public and private. The successful completion of the Colombo Plan will, it is hoped, provide a framework within which private investment will be encouraged to expand, but at this stage the contribution of the private investor is unlikely to be very important. The authors of the plan hope, however, that they will be able to interest the International Bank, which recently lent India $62,500,000, chiefly for the purchase of railroad equipment. Several other of the major development schemes embraced by the plan seem worthy of its attention, particularly now that the dollar-earning ability of all countries in South and Southeast Asia is being enhanced by the unexampled demand for their raw materials.

Yet even if the bank does all that can be expected of it, it is certain that full realization of the plan will require government-to-government loans. Britain, Canada, and Australia are now considering what aid of this kind they can offer, but as the Consultative Committee says, "the task . . . is manifestly not one which can be tackled by the Commonwealth alone." That raises the question of what help, if any, the United States can contribute. The committee's report makes no attempt to answer that, but as it truly observes, "it is doubtful whether free men can long afford to leave undeveloped and imprisoned in poverty the human resources of South and Southeast Asia which could help so greatly, not only to restore the world's prosperity, but also to redress its confusion and enrich the lives of all men everywhere."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Melville: 1950

HERMAN MELVILLE. By Newton Arvin. American Men of Letters Series. William Sloane Associates. $3.50.

ENOUGH time has now passed to make fairly certain what was already likely when Mr. Arvin's book was published several months ago. It is not only the best literary biography of 1950 but one of the most valuable critical studies of the year and of the decade. The acuteness of its writing, the justice of its proportions, the controlled and sensitive balance of its critical method are continuously evident. And to these it adds an acumen of historical judgment and perspective which permits it to punctuate an era both in the critical reputation of Melville himself and in the interpretation of a major issue in American literature.

In the thirty years since he was reclaimed to fame Melville has been subjected to every possible view, verdict, and method in modern literary study. The plethora of "approaches" to which he has been treated—traditionalist, moralistic, religious; biographical, "psychographic," psychiatric; Biblical, Dantean, Shakespearean; anthropological and folkloristic; symbolic and mythopoeic; nautical, topographical, cetological—has exhausted critical ingenuity and terminology. The temerity of anyone who writes judiciously on Melville today is necessarily heroic. He is writing not only about an author and his books but about the whole apparatus of commentary and exegesis in which these have become involved—inevitably involved, since the nature of Melville's achievement, the complexity and recklessness of his genius, elicit every possible critical resource. It is a courage Mr. Arvin has not only assumed but justified. His book has the effect of seizing the wheel of the wildly plunging bark of Melvillian speculation and steadying its keel.

Compared with its nearest rival on this score, Matthiessen's "American Renaissance" nine years ago, his undertaking is a more specific and restricted one, yet it was hardly less difficult. Deprived by its biographical framework of the latitude and context that gave Matthiessen his special advantage, the present volume succeeds in realizing the hazardous opportunity Melville affords his critic—that of bringing into focus one of the radical forces in the American genius and of defining, in the face of a forbidding amount of conjecture, the whole impulse—demonic, prophetic, visionary—in the native imagination which Melville beyond any other writer typifies.

However, the first commitment of the book, in itself no simple one, is biographical. Mr. Arvin has had access to family records and documents. He has respected the findings of scholars and critics from Weaver and Lawrence to Sedgwick, Olson, Thorp, Gilman, Auden, and Chase with unusual tact. His pages are notably free of sectarian rancor; he knows his subject too well to resent the errors committed in its name. He gives the best general account we have of Melville's youth, years at sea, South Sea adventures, marriage, trips to Europe and Holy Land, literary successes and defeats, years in the New York Customs House, and family relations. But no account of these that sticks to the given letter of documentary evidence will be critically illuminating. We have learned all the sins of literary and psychological biography, but Melville is a writer who exempts no critic from the risks of insight and error. Today any graduate student can be alert to false solutions of psychic and moral problems, but we are past the point of being satisfied with the kind of biography that assumes there are no problems to solve.

Mr. Arvin sees Melville as "a man who has acquired a terrible knowledge of human motives, a terrible insight into all the concealed and unapparent regions of human nature"; and he knows that this knowledge was not born in a void of temperament or innocence. He has pressed the works into service as testimony of such knowledge, and made their defects count as much as their virtues in assessing that testimony —in other words, he has kept the critical problem abreast of the biographical with a skill seldom arrived at in recent scholarship. This means that he has had, according to his lights, to be both bold and judicious, and sometimes open to dispute. He is severe in rating "Mardi" as "suffering irremediably, as a work of art, from the intellectual precipitateness and prematurity out of the midst of which it was palpably written"; in calling "Pierre" "four-fifths claptrap, and sickly claptrap to boot"; in reckoning "Benito Cereno" (too strenuously, I think) as "weak and disappointing"; in judging "The Confidence Man," despite its recent defenders, as a failure "all but wholly" in the "sensuous embodiment" of its theme, "one of the most *infidel* books ever written by an American, one of the most completely nihilistic, morally and metaphysically," in which "psychoneurotic suspiciousness" dispels a once-powerful "sense of the tragic."

But he is also courageous in seeing "Clarel," in spite of its "uninviting form and extreme length," its "stylistic crudities" and "a certain dwindling of intellectual boldness," as "an extraordinary work, a very full and rich expression of Melville's later intellectual life"; in tracing the anticipation of greater powers in "Typee," "Omoo," "Redburn," and "White-Jacket"; in defining in "Bartleby" not "the pathos of dementia praecox but the bitter metaphysical pathos of the human situation itself"; in seeing "Billy Budd" not simply as a convenient "Nunc Dimittis," "testament of acceptance," or "serene conclusion," but as a moral drama continuous with its predecessors in its "entangling of good and evil"; and of course and above all, in seeing "Moby Dick" for the profound and inexhaustible book it is.

The fifty-page chapter on "Moby Dick" is the critical center of the book. It may miss some of the historical, scientific, and symbolic elements that have been defined by specialists, but it is difficult to see how it could be improved upon as an account both of the personal reference and the art which the

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work embodies. To its account of the book's derivations (the Acushnet voyage, whaling histories, the Mocha Dick legend, motives from Homer, Shakespeare, Camoëns), of its language, imagery, and "verbal palette," and of its philosophic and religious analogies, this chapter adds its own version of Dante's "fourfold interpretation"— literal, oneric, moral, mythic. Mr. Arvin keeps these modes from becoming mechanical by showing their interdependence, their relevance to a book which reproduces "many of the conditions of a myth-making phase of culture"—conditions in Melville's life and mind which "led straight in the mythic direction" and which induced in him a sense of the fact of evil that bred a Manicheanism capable of sounding the depths of a whole moral and religious tradition.

This Manicheanism, later defined in "Clarel," is seen in the texture and symbolism of "Moby Dick." The novel thus anticipates and dramatizes the duality of values that Melville did not arrive at consciously until much later—"an unillusioned humanism, a hopefulness within distrust, a skeptical theism, a spiritualism strongly biased toward the realistic." It hangs between the idealistic fervor of Melville's earlier work and that "perilous outpost of the sane" that beckoned him in his later moral disorders. By placing it thus, at the peak of Melville's imaginative powers but in no position of secure vision, Mr. Arvin has given "Moby Dick" what is perhaps the most searching and inclusive interpretation it has yet received, and made it a clue to Melville's basic predicament. "He had solved a great artistic problem in writing 'Moby Dick,' and in doing so he had *imagined* a great solution for his intellectual and even his emotional problems. If a book were a life, Melville would now by all rights have been the man of the soundest and deepest well-being in all America. But a book is very far from being a life. . . ."

The sense of this difference is central to Mr. Arvin's study. And the reason it is critically operative in his work is that he has seen how intricate and how elusive is the connection between experience and imaginative creation; how little a purely documentary method serves the serious purposes of literary biography; and how a critic meets his test when he comes to discriminate between purpose and material, intention and expression, vision and realization, in the work of art. His book succeeds in being that most difficult thing, the biography of an artist, because it neither confuses nor shirks the twofold function of such an undertaking. It is aware of the facts that are verifiable; it is also aware of critical responsibilities that are unverifiable but inescapable; and it sees that their difference and their interdependence are basic to its task.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Addendum on Shaw

G. B. S. A POSTSCRIPT. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

SHAW'S most recent semi-official biographer here collects a few last footnotes. Something more than a third of the volume is given to an account of the subject's reactions to the biographer's questions and conclusions while the biography was in progress; most of the rest to incidents and anecdotes collected since the work was published. Because Shaw continued to act like Shaw to the very end, there are quite a few touches which contribute something to a legend probably the richest since Samuel Johnson. His postcard reply to Pearson's suggestion that he do a biography was: "Don't. I have got everything out of myself there is to be got." Of himself he said in 1943: "I have been too busy all my life to sit back and have a real look at myself; but since I have had time to do so, I have come to the conclusion that I am a great man."

Even a great man's last words do not necessarily represent his maturest or most significant conclusions, but it is interesting to know what Shaw thought at the end of his life about certain of his most controversial attitudes—especially about that tendency to condone dictators which is the thing 1950 finds it hardest to understand. Mr. Pearson thinks that Shaw was merely stubbornly refusing to acknowledge a mistake of which he was quite aware, but there is nothing in his last utterances—unless perhaps it is their extravagance—to support the conclusion. In 1943 Shaw was enthusiastic over Hitler and "Mein Kampf": "His book stands with Calvin's 'Institutes,' Marx's 'Capital,' and Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations: it is epoch-making. Of course he's mad on some points, but who isn't? The one chance for the Tory Party in this country is to adopt him as their leader. Of course we must thrash him, because of his phobias and his ruffianism; but we mustn't hang him. He can teach us a lot." About the same time—the phraseology is now Pearson's—"genuine practicable democracy, he contended, meant government in the general interest by rulers chosen from panels of the 5 per cent or so of tested qualified rulers."

Pearson adds a few details without much changing the strange picture of Shaw's "love life"—if you can call it that. He wanted to be thought a man who, in youth, had had a certain amount of casual sex experience, who had given it up as a waste of time, and who had ever since been pestered by women who found him sexually irresistible. There were no children because his wife very positively did not want any. "As man and wife we found a new relation in which sex had no part." The famous anecdote about Isadora Duncan's proposal is fiction, at least in the form usually told. But the extraordinary scene in "The Apple Cart" where Orinthia and Magnus roll on the floor is based upon a real incident. It is Mrs. Patrick Campbell trying to keep Shaw from going home to his wife!

Asked point-blank what aspect of his work he considered most important, he replied: "Anyone could have done the propaganda. No one else could have written my plays."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

A Dimension Is Missing

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY. THE STORY OF THE CIVIL WAR AS TOLD BY PARTICIPANTS. Edited by Henry Steele Commager. Two Volumes. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $12.

I RECALL from my youth a series of boys' books that bore the same title as this anthology, within which Professor Commager has arranged a history of the Civil War out of the words of those who participated in it. Through alternate volumes, appropriately blue and gray, I can still remember the Yankee lad and his Rebel cousin, on land and sea, in East and West, gallantly battling

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each other to the glorious end that reunited them.

Gallantry is the word for Professor Commager's compilation too. It is invoked by the dedication to forbears who fought on both the winning and the losing sides. It glistens through the introduction, which tells us of the mutual esteem in which the soldiers of North and South held each other, of their chivalry, of their moral standards, of their high spirits and good humor. And gallantry is the running theme of the narrative. Who can fail to be stirred, with the editor, by the names that every schoolboy remembers—Lincoln and Lee, Stonewall Jackson and Phil Sheridan, Pickett of Cemetery Ridge and Thomas, the Rock of Chickamauga?

Only now and then a discordant note obtrudes. General Sherman's letter to his wife rings with the real hatreds of real war. In a few fleeting reports of battlefield surgery and of prison life we hear no overtones of gallantry. If very little is said of drunkenness or of the activities of suttlers and prostitutes, we begin to suspect it may be due to deficiencies in the data rather than to any substantial difference between this and other wars.

In truth, there was a dimension to this conflict that did not get into "The Blue and the Gray" at all. In the Civil War the United States came closer to total war than ever in its history. Relative to the population, twice as many men were under arms as in the Second World War. No fewer than 620,000 of those men lost their lives between Sumter and Appomattox, and without the aid of present-day machine power. Surely this is evidence of the terrible brutality of the savage hand-to-hand fighting.

The war also extended far back from the battlefields, although Professor Commager's picture of life behind the lines does not always indicate the extent of the penetration. There should have been some space for the impact of the struggle on the development of American capitalism, some space for all those busy young men who would be the tycoons of the next forty years and who were then industriously storing up their advantages. There might have been some attention to the impact of labor; the draft riots were not merely the work of hoodlums, as the brief comment in these volumes would indicate. What were the girls thinking, in the New England villages, as they read in the mounting casualty lists the signs of their own inevitable spinsterhood and of the death of the world they knew?

I cannot find it in my heart to blame Professor Commager for these omissions. His editing is, by and large, competent; and these deficiencies may well be deficiencies in the sources at his command. He might have been more aware of, might have indicated more clearly, the limits of his material. For there is danger of distortion in any enterprise of this sort. After all, only the survivors survived, and their mere survival introduced a bias into their attitudes. It was not surprising that the men who saw the awful sacrifices of war produce only the gilded horrors of the century's last decades should refuse to bear the weight of guilt for all those wasted lives. Only a few would confront the responsibility of assessing fully the onus for the most tragic failure in the American democratic experience. Most would prefer instead to lose themselves in the soothing myths of universal gallantry and glory for all.

But we, looking back, shall understand neither the myth nor the underlying reality without distinguishing decisively between the two.

OSCAR HANDLIN

Three Great Painters

EL GRECO. Text by Leo Bronstein. Harry N. Abrams. $10.

RENOIR. Introduction by Walter Pach. Harry N. Abrams. $10.

VAN GOGH. Text by Meyer Schapiro. Harry N. Abrams. $10.

FIFTY color plates provide the main body of each of these magnificent volumes, and the texts of two of them are major contributions to the literature of their subject. Considering the inevitable slickness of reproductions of oil painting on glossy paper, they are remarkably successful, all the more so at a price of about twenty cents per print, the cost of the book itself included. Curiously enough, the few failures in reproduction are in the Van Gogh album, where one would have expected that the flat bright tones would come through without major alteration. It is a pleasure to welcome the advent of the Abrams Library of Great Painters.

Bronstein's essay on El Greco, though it is over complex and broken up by excessive dashes and parentheses, achieves a kind of electric tension which is highly suitable for a discussion of El Greco's art. As in the companion volumes, there are some twenty gravures, not in color, in the text. These illustrate peripheral comparisons, such as Byzantine paintings in Crete, Romanesque art, Mannerist painting, and work of the Spanish sculptor Alonso Berruguete (d. 1561), all of which provided points of departure in El Greco's search for style. Bronstein emphasizes Greco's foreignness, whether in Venice, Rome, or Toledo, and his Byzantine austerity combined with a Renaissance adumbration of the nude. He contrasts the *ex voto* content, to which El Greco's contemporaries responded, with our modern concern for his plastic forms. There is a rich reference to contemporary biography and criticism, to mystical books owned by El Greco himself, and to sixteenth-century optics. To this last I might add a suggestion of Henri Focillon that deformations similar to El Greco's are probably to be found in the statues atop Palladio's perspective stage-set in his Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza. Bronstein's critiques of the plates are both perceptive and highly charged. Take, for example, his interpretation of the portrait of Cardinal Niño de Guevara (Metropolitan, New York) as a study in *insecurity*, with the Cardinal "seated as if he were flying." In this admirable work I can criticize only the omission of work prior to El Greco's arrival in Spain (1577), and too little discrimination, from the point of view of color analysis, between pictures recently cleaned and others whose "golden crepuscular warmth of Venetian colors" may be the result merely of a thick layer of dirty varnish.

On Renoir, Walter Pach writes in a rather pedestrian fashion. He offers a survey of the known, not a freshly illuminating study. Even his personal

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reminiscences of visits to Renoir in his later years are not very revealing, except as to how Renoir directed assistants to model his sculptures when his own arthritic hands could no longer accomplish the task. The selection of plates is well varied except for the late nudes and half-lengths. These examples, chiefly from dealers' stocks, become rather monotonous, as I fear any large assortment of late Renoir oils will always seem. Pach makes a good case for the silver-blue tonality of Renoir's early impressionist work. But too many of his estimates, particularly of the later pictures, depend on a free use of the adjective "luscious" and on sentimental clichés like "the essence of femininity," "the very spirit of childhood," and several others. The text gravures give a good selection of Renoir's drawings and sculpture.

Schapiro's essay on Van Gogh is not only the finest of the three, but it will be considered, if I am not very far wrong, the most brilliant yet written on Van Gogh. It rests on a formidable scholarship and an incisive comprehension of each picture as a unique work of art—a rare combination in a writer on art. Schapiro's comments on the plates are models of precision and intensity. Though complex intellectually, they are expressed in simple English. They depend neither on sentimental abstractions nor on mechanical analyses of compositions. Occasionally the color plates play him false, as in the Postman's Son in a Yellow Jacket, which is not very yellow in this bad plate, and in Night Cafe, where the plate does not present any of the "blood red" to which Van Gogh himself referred in a letter to Theo which Schapiro quotes. But the coverage of the plates is excellent, not only as to the many themes which Van Gogh essayed but as to the steps of his development from the darkest Dutch pictures to the more livid darkness of his last works at Auvers.

I find Schapiro's most arresting comparison that of Van Gogh to Byzantine art, with the implied simile of the break-up of Roman illusionism through the impact of the Christian requirement of spiritual meanings. For sheer brilliance, I should like to bracket it with Bronstein's idea about El Greco that he was a painter of nude faces.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Books in Brief

THE SECOND ST. NICHOLAS ANTHOLOGY. Edited by Henry Steele Commager. Random House. $5. This is the inevitable follow-up of last year's highly successful attempt by Professor Commager and his family to salvage the treasure buried in the yellowed files of *St. Nicholas.* The anthologists made no effort in that volume to conceal their distress at having to leave out innumerable gems, and their pain was no doubt shared by old-timers who looked in vain for such monuments of their childhood as Charles Carryl's "Davy and the Goblin." Davy is in this year's collection, along with Robin Hood in the capacity of a dealer in venison and the Butterscotchmen who "can't run till they get warm and . . . can't get warm without running." So are the Biddicut boys in J. T. Trowbridge's wonderful serial about a trick dog that was stolen from P. T. Barnum and returned only after a series of adventures that held the attention of my eleven-year-old for all his addiction to the faster-paced world of Captain Marvel. With dozens of other fine tales by such as Frank Stockton, Joel Chandler Harris, Ralph Barbour, and Tudor Jenks, not to mention the incomparable drawings of Herford, Rackham, Birch, and the rest of the *St. Nicholas* galaxy, the wonder is only that the Commagers could have steeled themselves to omit such rich stuff in their first collection. Don't make the mistake of thinking this handsome volume is for antiquarians; the juices are still there.

R. B.

PILGRIM PEOPLE. By Anita Libman Lebeson. Harper. $6. A history of the Jews in America from the discovery to the present day. A monumental work, loaded—but never overloaded—with facts, quotations, and brief biographies, all of which the author has woven with remarkable skill into a readable narrative.

PHASES OF ENGLISH POETRY. By Herbert Read. New Directions. $1.50. To the first edition of this book, published in 1928, the author has made such alterations "as the passage of time made desirable" and added two new chapters, on Poetry and Love, and Poetry and Sentiment. His general thesis is that in its evolution English poetry has developed from the widest possible to the narrowest possible appeal; the ballad-makers and Chaucer are the earliest poets he discusses, and Auden the latest; he has not come down to date with Dylan Thomas. As usual, Mr. Read seems thoughtful, painstaking, unassuming, informal, and also just a little bit dry.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

"LET'S MAKE AN OPERA" (John Golden Theater) involves a sentimental tale about a little chimney sweep who is rescued from his "calling"; the cast is made up largely of children, the spectators are supposed to take part, and there is a master of ceremonies who exhorts them and wheedles them and cracks jokes over their heads. It sounds like something to stay away from, and most of the newspaper reviewers reinforced that impression. I went to it with misgivings—and found it charming.

The music by Benjamin Britten and the book and lyrics by Eric Crozier are written out of a genuine feeling for children and an understanding of their wills and ways—combined nicely with a humorous but affectionate attitude toward their behavior that makes the piece palatable to grown-ups.

The children are attractive, and they perform with seriousness and skill and none of the deplorable mannerisms of stage children. The grown-ups, as it happens, are less consistently good. But an adult plays the crucial part and is the star of the proceedings. This is Norman Del Mar, the master of ceremonies, who does the exhorting and the wheedling and actually prevails upon a timid audience to imitate owls, chaffinches, and turtle doves. His is a turn quite as hair-raising as walking a tightrope—only much funnier and longer drawn out—and he does it to perfection.

"The Cellar and the Well," the second production of the American National Theater and Academy (A.N.T.A. Theater), is proof, if further proof were needed at this late date, that realism of the literal sort is a dead end. This slice of Irish life in Chicago is dreary, dull,

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and pointless. It is competently acted for the most part.

Certainly a repertory theater is needed here, but not a repertory theater that wastes its money, its time, the services of good performers, and the public's good-will on plays as stale and dated as "The Cellar and the Well," which is not even a creditable example of its kind.

The first production of A. N. T. A., "The Tower Beyond Tragedy," I did not see. At least it provided a vehicle for Judith Anderson, who is too seldom seen on Broadway. But the Jeffers poem is something less than great, and, again, I find it difficult to understand the choice. It would seem to me that the function of a repertory theater is to present old plays which are of the first order or new plays of distinction and promise. Up to the moment A. N. T. A. has done neither. Perhaps its future choices will be more to the point.

"Bless You All" (Mark Hellinger Theater) is delightful. I shall report on it next week.

Bulletin: "Let's Make an Opera," I regret to say, closed after five performances. If its backers could have kept it going long enough to overcome the initial sight-unseen resistance, or if it could have been presented at a "family" theater like the New York City Center, it might, I think, have had a successful run.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE New York City Ballet presented no new works during the first week of its recent season at City Center; but some of the old ones had a new beauty that made them appear "as fresh and glistening as creation itself." What struck the eye first, in "Symphony in C," was the spectacular effect of the lighting and the new richly colored costumes of the men; but then one became aware of something more important—the assured ease of the company and the smooth running of the performance, which were the results of the many weeks of continuous rehearsal and performance of the English tour. The performances now gave the impression of something completely achieved—this even when, in "Serenade," lines were not straight, or when, in "Symphony in C," a dancer was not suited to his part. And this effect of complete achievement was greatest in "The Prodigal Son," where there were not only the clarification and tightening of the choreography that had been blurred and slack last spring, but the superb performances of the new leading dancers—Moncion, with his powerful presence and dramatic intensity; Yvonne Mounsey, with her long-legged sinuous body—and the Rouault scenery and costumes to give the work the force and stature it had not had. Balanchine himself, in early performances, also contributed to the effect of the work with his brief appearances as the father—with the fascinating stylized movements of hands and arms in his appeal to the son at the beginning, but especially at the end, with the expressive power of each slow step toward the prostrate son and of his immobility as the son dragged himself over the ground and up his body into his arms and enfolding cloak.

The company's improved functioning was also evident, the second week, in the smoothly-running performances of the major new work, a revival of Balanchine's "Le Baiser de la fée," in which, as in "The Prodigal Son," his remarkable dramatic and theater sense produces wonderfully imagined invention. Comparable with details in "The Prodigal Son" like the companions' crossing their hands before their faces or squatting and scurrying back to back, are in "Le Baiser" details like the fairy pointing ahead and pushing the boy off the stage at the end of the village scene or the boy and his bride looking for each other in the mill scene; and they occur in even greater profusion and richer contexts in the later work. Balanchine attempted this time to achieve choreographic continuity by filling in the musical interludes between scenes with movement; but I found that after the fairy had pushed the boy off the stage and followed him off with arm pointing ahead the effect of this stroke of *fantaisie Balanchine* was weakened by their reappearance and movements before the curtain, and similarly that the effect of her dragging him off at the end of the mill scene was weakened by the appearance of the bride before the curtain in search of him. I also found myself questioning the epilogue in which the boy who was last seen being dragged off by the fairy is now seen climbing upward in an attempt to reach her—this apart from the fact that it doesn't come off clearly on the City Center stage and must be invisible to part of the audience. On the other hand the newly introduced premonitory reappearance of the fairy's shadow in the mill scene is excellent, since it makes visible the source of the shadow that falls on the bride's playfulness.

The role of the fairy calls for precisely the physical intensity in dancing and the dark dramatic power that Maria Tallchief has; and her performance of it is, I think, still the best thing she has done. Magallanes as the boy again shows himself to be a good character dancer; Patricia Wilde does the two solos of the opening of the mill scene with the clarity and speed they require. But standing out from everything else here, as in every ballet she appears in, is Tanaquil LeClercq's performance as the bride, with its exquisite deployment of bodily configuration, its amazing range of expressiveness, its power of presence and projection that gives an extra animation and radiance to her quietest movement.

In addition Balanchine produced two new short pieces. One was a grand pas de deux to music from Delibes's "Syl-

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via," which had Tallchief not only displaying her virtuosity but dancing, in the languorous introduction, with a new supple delicacy. It also included passages which exposed the company's weakness —that it has no male dancers comparable in technical virtuosity and brilliance of style with Tallchief, LeClercq, Melissa Hayden, and Janet Reed, among others; and that consequently a Magallanes or Bliss must struggle embarrassingly with what calls for a Youskevitch or Skibine.

The other new piece, the Mazurka from Glinka's "A Life for the Tsar," was exciting for its exhibition of the beautifully finished style of Balanchine's own dancing; and for me there was the additional exciting experience of seeing Lazovsky dance again with his extraordinary lightness and ease and continuity in flow of movement. This great dancer's inactivity has been a saddening loss; and now that Balanchine has been able to get him to dance in this one piece, I hope he will try to persuade him to do more with the company. Balanchine cannot produce "Petrouchka," in which Lazovsky's performance was the definitive one of our time; but he can revive "Mozartiana," among whose unforgettable moments were Lazovsky's pose as the curtain went up, and his wonderfully subtle performance of the intricate opening dance.

And not just "Mozartiana." An experienced and unusually intelligent actor I know remarked after "The Prodigal Son": "Actually the most important things happening in the theater nowadays are being done right here"—which was a way of describing the fact that at long last the greatest living creative artist has a theater and a company for a repertory of his own ballets and any others he finds worth producing. And what he must do is bring into that repertory the masterpieces he created for companies which no longer perform them—"Danses Concertantes," "Ballet Imperial," "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme," "Waltz Academy," "Cotillon," "Apollo."

CORRECTION

Through an oversight the heading of the review of "Impressionists and Symbolists" by Lionello Venturi in *The Nation* for December 2 failed to note that the book was translated from the Italian by Francis Steegmuller.

Letters to the Editors

Case Study in Deviousness

Dear Sirs: I find myself singularly unmoved by the letter in the November 11 *Nation* by Paul M. Sweezy, who piteously complains that his "independent socialist" *Monthly Review* has been neglected in the pages of your magazine. The *Review,* which serves as a mouthpiece for veteran followers of the Communist Party line under its phony "socialist" label, has little to offer the liberal reader except as a case study in fellow-traveling deviousness. Here are a few samples of the manner in which it champions the cause of "socialism": "Socialism became a reality with the introduction of the first Five Year Plan in Soviet Russia in 1928." ". . . the countries of Eastern Europe, where socialism is experiencing a thrilling practical demonstration." "[The Atlantic Pact lays] the groundwork for a grandiose military coalition to wage an eventual anti-Soviet war. . . . The United States is waging a cold war of aggression against the Soviet Union."

So far as can be readily determined, the *Monthly Review* is "independent socialist" only in that it constantly smears and abuses the leaders of the various democratic Socialist parties of the world. It has certainly never allowed its passion for "independence" to seduce it very far from the Communist Party line on any significant issues.

LOUIS JAY HERMAN

New York, November 30

Understanding Korea

Dear Sirs: The four articles grouped under the title "China Shakes the World" (*The Nation,* December 9) help a great deal to clarify the issues in the present Korean crisis, and to offset the opinions of right-wing journalists who have caused so much misunderstanding of our Far Eastern policy.

I am reminded of the book by the same title by Jack Belden. Belden's analysis and candid observations of the Chinese Communist revolution also pointed up the futility of supporting the Nationalists and other reactionary parties in Asia. Misconception of the nature of the Chinese revolution is one of the main reasons why most Americans do not understand our failure in Korea.

BETTY LERNER

Chicago, Ill., December 11

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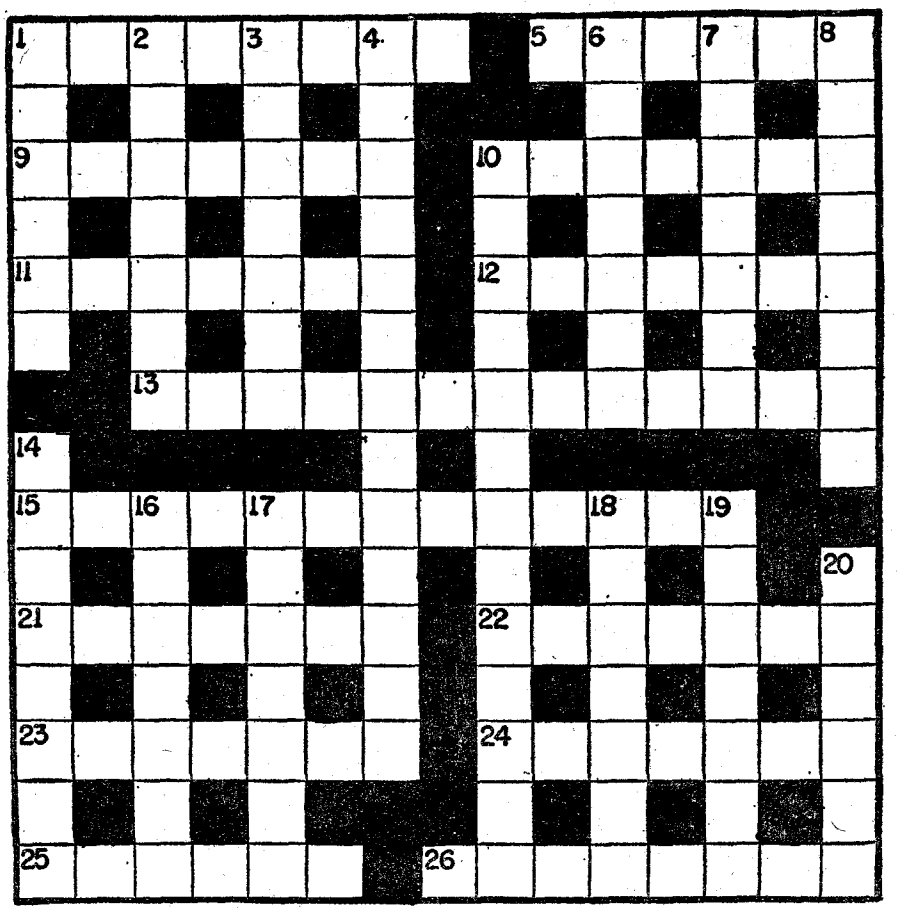
Crossword Puzzle No. 392

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 7 down.
5 Was George Washington a "cut-up" at the Institute? (6)
9 An inclination to take drawing? (7)
10 A capital fellow who sounds like a square! (7)
11 Sort of hymn, always short, but proper in Holland. (7)
12 Put in where stock might be placed. (7)
13 Proving that money makes a good impression. (4, 9)
15 and 23. About 90, in case its sauce is rum! (3, 5, 2, 3, 7)
21 Short autobiography of Abbot's assistant? (1, 6)
22 Create bit parts for the star. (7)
23 See 15.
24 Stern pilot. (7)
25 The old girl shows her years. (6)
26 Said to be bad as a dessert. (8)

DOWN

1 Little Mr. Ship. (6)
2 A lama can make this into a publication. (7)
3 Likely to be found in the moving van. (7)
4 Canvasing, perhaps. (13)
6 Stops pinches! (7)
7 and 1 across. What the town tippler takes instead of a Strauss waltz? (7, 8)
8 Leopold's solitary henchman. (8)
10 By the sound of it, Hood's was as big as Brooklyn. (6, 2, 5)
14 Hard up and belted around, perhaps. (8)
16 Noble manor of the old mare. (7)
17 The top of the bottom of 4. (7)
18 When the hatter could have been a brewer. (7)
19 Pull out a bottle from the kitchen cabinet. (7)
20 Hoover's such a pal. (6)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 391

ACROSS:—1 SEDAN CHAIR; 6 IBIS; 10 CHARITY; 11 SCHEMER; 12 RING; 13 DIMINUTION; 15 TITMICE; 16 LADRONE; 17 CAPRICE; 20 FORMATS; 22 UNDULATION; 23 ATOM; 25 CHORTLE; 26 STOICAL; 27 LAKE; 28 SEAMSTRESS.

DOWN:—1 SECURITY COUNCIL; 2 DRAGNET; 3 NAIL; 4 HAYWIRE; 5 INSTILL; 7 BAMBINO; 8 STRING ENSEMBLES; 14 TITILLATE; 18 PADDOCK; 19 EXTREME; 20 FLOTSAM; 21 ARTICLE; 24 and 9 SOFT SHOULDERS.

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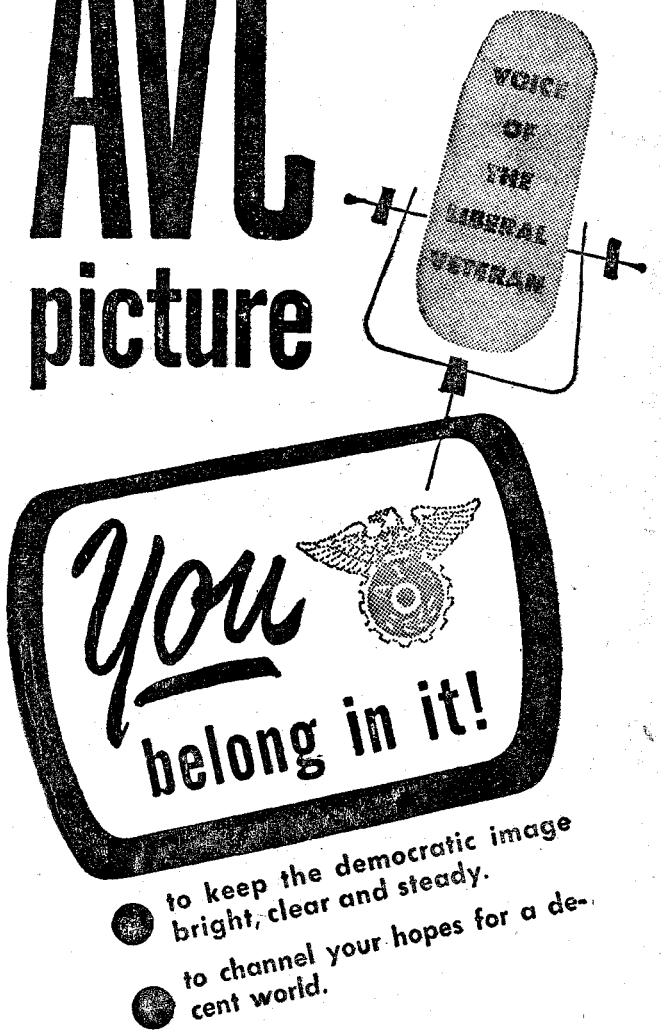

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